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POLAND

Sadowski Interviewed in Moscow Weekly
26000535k Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
23 Jun 88 p 5

[Text] In its most recent issue, MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI carried an interview with vice-premier Zdzislaw Sadowski, who described broadly the results obtained hitherto in implementing economic reform in Poland, its difficulties, and plans for the future. In this context he also discussed the governmental-community dialogue and the development of economic pluralism.

13324/7310

Party Activities Calendar 6-19 June 1988
26000566b Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 13,
29 Jun 88 p 21

[Unattributed article: "Party Chronicle: 6-19 June 1988"]

[Text] Seventh Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee:

13-14 June

—The Seventh Plenary Session of the PZPR Central Committee deliberated in Warsaw on the subject of the party's tasks in deepening the economic and political reforms and in personnel advancement. The Plenum performed changes in the membership of the Politburo and Secretariat of the Central Committee.

Sessions of the Central Committee Politburo:

7 June

—The Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee and the Presidium of the ZSL [United Peasant Party] Supreme Committee evaluated at their fifth joint session the implementation of the resolutions of the Ninth Plenum of the central Committee and the Supreme Committee in 1983 as well as the current situation in agriculture.

Sessions of the Central PZPR, ZSL, and SD [Democratic Party] Cooperation Commission:

17 June

—In the Sejm building was held a session of the Central PZPR, ZSL, and SD Cooperation Commission, attended by signatories of the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] declaration. Those present on behalf of the PZPR were: Wojciech Jaruzelski, Kazimierz Barcikowski, Jozef Czyrek, Marian Orzechowski, Kazimierz Cypryniak, and Boguslaw Kolodziejczak. The Commission examined the course of the campaign for elections to people's councils and approved a proposal for personnel changes in government posts.

Conferences and Meetings:

7 June

—First Central Committee Secretary and Chairman of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski received a delegation of Czechoslovak trade unions headed by Chairman of the Central Council of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement and Candidate Member of the Presidium of the Czechoslovak CP Central Committee Miroslaw Zavadil. Participating in the conversation was OPZZ [National Trade Union Alliance] Chairman Alfred Miodowicz.

—At the Center for Party Courses was held a seminar for first secretaries of plant and basic party committees from state farms, agricultural producer cooperatives, and food and lumber industry plants, on the topic of the tasks of party organizations in applying the second stage of the economic reform. The participants in the seminar met with Candidate Member of the Politburo and Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek and Director of the Agriculture Department of the PZPR Central Committee Kazimierz Grzesiak.

8 June

—The Commission for Economic Policy, Economic Reform, and Worker Self-Government under the Central Committee examined a draft decree on commencing economic activity [private enterprise]. The deliberations were chaired by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Marian Wozniak.

—A seminar on Political Pluralism and National Consensus, organized by the editors of NOWE DROGI jointly with the Ideology Department of the PZPR Central Committee, was held. The results of the seminar will be utilized in preparations for the Third National Conference on Theory and Ideology and published in NOWE DROGI.

10 June

—A conference of the agricultural secretaries of voivodship PZPR committees was held to discuss the recommendations of the joint session of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee and the ZSL Supreme Committee concerning current tasks in agriculture. Its deliberations were chaired by Candidate Member of the Politburo and Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek. Present was Director of the Agriculture Department of the PZPR Central Committee Kazimierz Grzesiak.

—A delegation of Soviet trade unionists ended its visit to Poland. It was headed by Member of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions and Director of the Department for Cooperation with the Socialist Countries Vladimir Sergeyev. The delegation was received by

Politburo Member and OPZZ Chairman Alfred Miodowicz. At the Socioeconomic Policy Department of the PZPR Central Committee First Deputy Director of the Department Maciej Lubczynski held talks with the visitors.

15 June

—With the participation of First Central Committee Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski the PZPR Caucus of Sejm Deputies met in session. The topics of the meeting, which was chaired by Tadeusz Porebski, related to the agenda of the new session of the Sejm.

At Party Echelons and Organizations:

11 June

—Politburo Member and Vice Chairman of the Council of State Kazimierz Barcikowski took part in celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the A. Warski Shipyard in Szczecin. During the gala ceremony deserving shipyard workers were awarded state decorations.

16 June

—Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Wladyslaw Baka toured the Warsaw FSO [Passenger Car Factory], chatting with workers and the management on the subject of applying the economic reform. The Central Committee secretary was accompanied by Candidate Member of the Politburo and First Secretary of the Warsaw Voivodship PZPR Committee Janusz Kubasiewicz.

—The activities of state farms during the second stage of the economic reform were discussed at Sanniki, Plock Voivodship, by representatives of multiplant enterprises of that region. The meeting was attended by Candidate Member of the Politburo and Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek.

—The PZPR Factory Committee at URSUS Works examined the causes and scope of the protest action attempted last May. The deliberations were attended by Candidate Member of the Politburo and First Secretary of the Warsaw Voivodship PZPR Committee Janusz Kubasiewicz.

1386

National Reconciliation Encompasses Anticrisis Pact Ideas

26000610a Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
9-10 Jul 88 p 2

[Article by (W. L.): "The Anti-Crisis Pact as Part of National Reconciliation"]

[Text] Enunciating the principles of the anti-crisis pact as an integral part of national accord within the Polish society was the principal topic of the comments made by Stanislaw Ciosek during a press conference on 8 July attended by domestic and foreign reporters.

Stanislaw Ciosek offered the reminder that the sharp debates of the years 1980-1981 did not lead to an agreement allowing for the coeval crisis conditions, and neither did they result in a consensus on the need to lower living standards.

National accord with all the forces concerned for the country's future remains a cardinal objective of the activities of the authorities and the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, a kind of popular front]. Stanislaw Ciosek continued, "We desire to reach an agreement with all who accept such a consensus, even if they represent various views. The only ones to exclude themselves from this process of reconciliation are those who follow the principle of 'The worse things are, the better they are.' National reconciliation is not being attained as rapidly or as easily as we might wish. This is demonstrated by the incomplete support expressed in the referendum, which forced the authorities to plan the reform over a longer time frame, as well as by the outbreaks of illegal strikes in late April and early May." Answering one of the questions, Stanislaw Ciosek asserted, "We had to oppose resolutely the strike attempts because they harmed the best-conceived social and economic interests of the entire country."

Returning to the topic of the anti-crisis pact, the speaker added that this "Concerns developing economic-reform projects that can win the support of the broadest masses of the population. The authorship of such projects does not matter. We are open to any proposal offered by any one interested in acting within the framework of national accord. We are opening wide the door for cooperation with the church and with all the associations, organizations, and individuals who acknowledge national consensus. Opening the door also consists in preparing new decrees, discussing the possibilities for amending the Constitution, broadening the powers of elective bodies, and forming new bodies for collegial governance.

"Our aim is," Stanislaw Ciosek concluded, "that the anti-crisis pact represent accord among the majority of Poles. It would be good if this matter were to be thought over also by those who speak on behalf of the opposition although they have neither the warrant nor the influence for doing so."

1386

Ciosek, 'Consensus' Group Meets

26000610b Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
8 Jul 88 p 2

["S. Ciosek Meets With 'Consensus' Group"—PAP report]

[Text] Secretary General of the PRON National Council and Candidate Member of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee Stanislaw Ciosek met with members of the "Consensus" dialogue group and their invited guests representing opinionmaking constituencies of differing political views.

Those taking the floor in the discussion were: Wacław Auleytnier, Tomasz Bartoszewicz, Leon Brodowski, Zygmunt Drozdek, Andrzej Grzegorzczak, Jerzy Holzer, Jerzy Jedlicki, Zbigniew Karnecki, Piotr Krasucki, Marian W. Krzeminski, Aleksander Legatowicz, Aleksander Malachowski, Andrzej Piekara, Anna Przelawska, Janusz Rolicki, Zbigniew Siedlecki, Marcin Swiecicki, Anna Tatarkiewicz, and Sylwester Zawadzki.

1386

Legal Expert on Lack of Authentic Social Control Over State Apparatus

26000569a Warsaw *ZYCIE WARSZAWY* in Polish
30 Jun 88 p 3

[Interview with Prof Andrzej Zoll, criminal law expert from the Jagiellonian University in Krakow, by Janina Paradowska]

[Text] [Question] The democratization of state and social life is a topic with a long history and one that is always current. This democratization is talked about in its various aspects as a road to dealing with social indifference, as a kind of guarantee for the success of the economic reforms or the better protection of citizens rights. In the panorama of various institutions that serve the democratization of conditions in our country, constantly new ones appear such as recently another problem as the point of departure—the problem of society's readiness to making use of this democratization and this is when frequently the opinions are repeated (also by way of arguments pulled out of the historical junk pile) about necessary caution in democratizing social relations because our society is not used to this.

[Answer] It is difficult for me to agree with such opinions. Their source is the still occurring in our country—although less pronounced today than just several years ago—separation of authority and society. According to these opinions, democratization is a concession made toward society. Thus, institutions that are supposed to serve the democratization of social life are frequently those institutions that have been organized for society by the authorities offering their own kind of concessions for democratization. It is much more seldom that these institutions arise from the authentic aspirations of society. Therefore, it is not only society that must learn to live in democracy but this learning process is also indispensable for the authorities.

[Question] Whether administered from the top or from the bottom, certain institutions, nonetheless, do exist. Therefore, we can and should take advantage of the possibilities created by them. Meanwhile, things are always as they should be—the elections campaigns to people's councils has not instigated any significant social animation.

[Answer] Because the public is not indifferent to how these institutions are created. Those that are organized from the top immediately risk a certain lack of trust. Furthermore—and I consider this the key to the problem which we are discussing—authentic social control over administrative activity and the state apparatus—is not functioning in our country. We can become convinced of this if only on the basis of the experience thus far of the youngest institution, the Civil Rights Agency, which has developed from democratizational trends.

[Question] I should also introduce you as one of the experts on the agency.

[Answer] An avalanche of issues, primarily individual complaints which we have to deal with, hinder the functioning of the agency and I fear that in the future this may lead to disenchantment with the institution whose establishment was welcomed with great expectations and hope. This avalanche results from the fact that there is no proper social control at various lower levels that would correct mistakes arising in administrative elements. An illustration of this problem is the very interesting opinion expressed recently by Prof Detlef Krauss from Basel during his visit to the Jagiellonian University. Thus, Switzerland is frequently accused of having an illegal system of government (for example, the law does not in many instances introduce guarantees for its citizens). To this, our guest answered that it does not have to be a legal system of government, it is enough that it is democratic, i.e., that there exists such a strong influence of social control over state activity and its agencies and the direct control by citizens over the activity of official that citizens rights are protected.

[Question] Therefore, this is not only a problem involving possibilities but also the desire to participate in public life. Frequently, our society simply lacks this.

[Answer] It is true that Poles do not take advantage of various possibilities of vindicating their civil rights through existing institutions because they are not accustomed to public life. It follows from various sociological studies that a Pole identifies himself with the family and the state and there are no intermediate elements between these two spheres which we shall agree to call the lowest and the highest [sphere]. A Pole does not identify himself with his local community, district or some sort of neighborhood club. And yet, it is this level of local community involvement that is the best school for becoming familiar with public life which should be learned from early youth on.

[Question] Thus, learning democracy?

[Answer] Learning how to participate in public life and here we come to the next problem associated with the democratization of relations in our country. Thus, institutions that democratize social life arise, above all, at the very top—at the central level. On the other hand, the lower the worse it gets. That is why, I feel that the

solution to many of our problems is allowing various associations, to a much greater extent than has been the case until now, to participate in social activity. It is they, arising from local ties or similar interests or causes for which one wishes to work, that are that place in which we learn about public life most quickly. Meanwhile, despite declarations made by the authorities for a long time now about a new act regarding associations, we still do not have it and the mobilizing of social activity is encountering many barriers. I shall give an example from my own realm. Thus, the mayor of Warsaw recently refused to register an association grouping opponents to the death penalty. I cannot understand why it was not registered since this is a movement whose aim is to call attention to certain negative consequences of maintaining the death penalty whereas the issue itself is quite broadly discussed in the press as well. Despite this, the association was not registered. There is a great number of such refusals. Therefore, if the formation of active social attitudes on this lower level—if only a local one or one that groups together people who want to act in one, specific direction—is not allowed, then it is difficult to expect, for example, the recently introduced elections campaign to arouse greater interest among various groups or communities. Institutions on a central level are important. However, in my opinion, those on a lower or lowest level are the most important ones.

[Question] Are they to fill in that gap between the family-home sphere and regard for the state as a value of high rank?

[Answer] The filling in, itself, of this—as you describe it—gap and the way in which this is done are both important. It may be clearly noticed that the majority of actions, whose goal is democratization, are accompanied by the use of restraints. A current example is the electoral law. On the one hand, it represents real progress in comparison with the previous one. On the other hand, however, the way in which the list of candidates was determined and the possibility of influencing who would ultimately find himself on the list has aroused doubts. These are limitations which provoke distrust.

There is one more important factor which should be taken into account in all discussions on the practicing of democracy: a great deal of weariness on the part of society. The years of crisis and, above all, the long-term feeling of helplessness have created in large spheres of society a passive attitude based on the conviction that, in any case, we have no influence on anything. These kinds of attitudes cannot be changed overnight. This will be a long process which cannot be accelerated with declarations but with actions. In the meantime, there are always too few actions. And not only actions in the form of creating new institutions that will protect civil rights but also the kind that will arise from a different way of thinking about the processes of democratization. These processes cannot be a concession on the part of the state to society but the implementation of authentic social aspirations. And one more thing—if we really want

democratization, then we must agree to the existence of various outlooks (something which has de facto already occurred) and the next step—the pluralism of the concept of society.

[Question] We are talking about that which has already been implemented and which should still be done. If you look at these changes, which have already occurred in recent years, what would you consider as the greatest accomplishment and what continues to leave a negative impression?

[Answer] Perhaps you will be disappointed that I shall not talk about the institutions that have been created although many of them constitute important accomplishments. However, I feel that an achievement, whose importance should be recognized, is the awakening of social awareness which expresses itself in, among other things, if only the fact that today we are talking about these things in the columns of *ZYCIE*; that they are being discussed publicly. On the other hand, a fact that is very disturbing is that in reality no one has presented (and I am also thinking here of the authorities as a broadly understood opposition) a univocal concept of that which as a result of all the changes we are trying to achieve. The lack of such a general vision also hinders the unleashing of a social activity and causes a constantly apparent restraint in making use of these democratic instruments which have already been created. The vision of tomorrow, this point of approach is, in my opinion, the fundamental issue with which we must come to terms today. Of course, it is difficult for some sort of total consensus here but a majority, who will be able to push it through, should group around it with the awareness of how many barriers will have to be crossed along the way.

[Question] Has not the concept itself of a "vision of the future" become devalued already? After all, various perspectives have been promoted at various stages.

[Answer] I do not believe so. Such a vision is needed. After all, we want to know what Poland will look like, its system of government and the attitude of government agencies toward society in the year, let us say, 2000 or 2010. And we should have a clear-cut plan of implementation for all projected undertakings. The vision alone without such a plan can easily become just a set of slogans, banners that do not inspire trust.

[Question] Discussions about the future—because such are being carried on in various circles—are usually accompanied by a question about the limits of democratic changes; about where that fine line should run which separates democratic society from an anarchistic one.

[Answer] This has to be determined by the legal system which protects against anarchistic activity. I assign a special role in this case to the new constitution. It ought to be clearly stated that the constitution, which is currently in effect in Poland, does not fulfill the functions of

a fundamental law. It is more a set of declarations and slogans than an act of the highest rank on which the entire legal system is built. The present constitution does not constitute a legal act on which every citizen can rely to find protection of his or her rights. One can call upon legal acts of a lower order while officials have other ordinances, rules, etc. which they can use. Thus, our social life is regulated by legal acts of a very low order—something which does not inspire confidence in the law, does not promote respect for it is not conducive to the practice of democracy or in somewhat different terms, does not constitute a learning process for this democracy.

That is why it is extremely important that for the future of all democratizing processes, a constitution be developed that would create the foundation for the entire legal system and which will include all that will be implemented in the area of democratization. At that time, the problem will, of course, appear whether this is to be a constitution to "grow into," so to speak and, therefore, whether it should also include that which we will strive for in a long-term perspective because, after all, the process of democratization does not occur overnight or even in 1 year. Regardless of the ultimate decisions made in this matter (developing a constitution with "room to grow" is, undoubtedly, risky), the new fundamental law must contain basic civil guarantees and create possibilities for the authorities to implement an outlined program. Guarantees for the citizens and guarantees for the functioning of government—these two elements are indispensable.

9853/12232

PZPR, CPSU Cooperation Meeting

26000610e Warsaw *RZECZPOSPOLITA* in Polish
18 Jul 88 p 2

[News item: "Cooperation Between the PZPR and the CPSU"]

[Text] On 16 July was held a meeting between PZPR Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek and CPSU Central Committee Secretary V. A. Medvedev to discuss the conclusions ensuing from the visit by Secretary General of the CPSU Central Committee M. S. Gorbachev to cooperation between the two parties. Agreement was reached on taking specific steps to implement them fully.

1386

PZPR, Hungarian CP Talks

26000610f Warsaw *RZECZPOSPOLITA* in Polish
18 Jul 88 p 2

[News Item: "Cooperation Between the PZPR and the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party"]

[Text] On 16 July Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek received the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Matyas Szuros.

The conversation touched upon the sociopolitical situation in Poland and Hungary and the program for inter-party cooperation.

1386

PZPR Voivodship Plenum on Cadre Appointments

26000535i Warsaw *TRYBUNA LUDU* in Polish
23 Jun 88 p 2

[Text] "Economic results depend on what kind of cadres we have," said Jozef Stepinski, a driver employed by the "Jutrzenka" Labor Cooperative in Brzezina, during plenary meetings of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Sieradz on 22 June. "Good results in industry and agriculture are full shelves in the shops," continued J. Stepinski, "and in turn this shapes public opinion, which the best political work is in no state to shape."

At the plenum, elections to people's councils were also discussed.

13324/7310

PZPR Training Schools in Moscow Conclude Term

26000535j Warsaw *TRYBUNA LUDU* in Polish
23 Jun 88 p 5

[Text] In the Embassy of the PRL in the USSR a ceremonial end to the party's training year in the PZPR party organizations in the USSR took place.

For many years this training has been conducted by lecturers from the Academy of Social Sciences of the CPSU Central Committee, and at a gathering at its end the deputy rector of the academy, Boris Popov, attended. Diplomas for completing courses at the Soviet Academy of Social Sciences were received by about 300 individuals, who are employees of Polish diplomatic agencies in Moscow.

At the gathering the head of the Department of Personnel Policy of the PZPR Central Committee, Jerzy Swiderski, gave a speech in which he described the outcome of the recent PZPR Central Committee plenum, the foundations of party personnel policy, and the current situation in the country.

Wlodzimierz Natorf, ambassador of the PRL to the USSR, participated in the meeting.

13324/7310

PZPR Voivodship Secretaries Meet on Education Issues

26000569b Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
1 Jul 88 p 2

[Text] On 30 June, a meeting of the PZPR Voivodship Committee secretaries, who oversee party work in the area of education and the system of higher education, was held. Its purpose was to outline the tasks for national education arising from the decisions of the Seventh PZPR Central Committee Plenum. Activity was also discussed whose undertaking will determine the good preparation of the summer campaign and the new school and academic year.

It was emphasized that the assertive and consistent implementation of the Seventh Central Committee Plenum decisions, increasing the success of undertaken actions, strengthening democracy and assuring conditions for complete self-government by the academic community, which is guaranteed in the legal act on higher schooling, constitute particularly important political tasks in the educational community. It was stated in the discussion that this requires agreement and concerted action by all creative and constructive social forces in colleges and universities that understand the reforms and work to strengthen the social rank of the intelligentsia and significance of highly qualified cadres for the development of the country.

The meeting was conducted by Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee Secretary Marian Orzechowski. Boguslaw Kedzia, director of the PZPR Central Committee Department of Science, Education and Scientific-Technological Progress, and Minister of National Education Henryk Bednarski participated in the meeting.

9853/12232

PZPR POP Pays Tribute to Retired Pastor

26000575e Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish
1 Jul 88 p 3

[Text] In the 21 June issue of TRYBUNA OPOLSKA, Jerzy Przylucki quotes a letter received by the voivode of Opole Voivodship:

"The Primary Party Organization and Village Council of Chudoba in the community of Lasowice Wielkie would like to announce that our 75-year-old parish priest, Antoni Menzel, is entering retirement. In his 35 years of pastoral work, he has always mobilized the people to work for the good of the community by building roads and bus stops and to keep our village clean. We request that you give our priest's retirement the notice that it deserves and come to visit on this occasion."

12261

Ideological Revaluation of Concepts of Equality, Social Justice Called For

26000643 Poznan WPROST in Polish No 32,
7 Aug 88 pp 6-9

[Article by Marek Z. Szczepanski: "Just Equality or Equal Injustice?"]

[Text] Changes occurring in socialist countries—to be sure, with much friction and still too slowly in comparison with current needs and challenges of the future—suggest that not only this or that kind of economic reform or political liberalization is inescapable. It is also necessary to rethink again and reevaluate many notions and concepts characteristic of the socialist ideology. Until recently, they were received without a thought and treated much like sacral formulas which were not to be discussed. Justice and social equality are among such key notions determining the ideal of a socialist society. Many myths and misunderstandings have developed around them, the same as around other terms, which are at the same time descriptive and value judgements, and which come from a tradition of long duration, certainly as long as human civilization.

Equality and social justice are always mentioned together and used as synonyms in colloquial, simplified interpretations of the socialist ideology. They are a compound cliché, deeply rooted in the social conscience by now. Meanwhile, despite the many links between these notions and the state of affairs which corresponds to this, there are significant differences between the two. They are so significant that making equality absolute and equating it with justice brings about contradictions and causes beautiful ideas to become their negation. The basic distinction is often forgotten, namely equality from a legal standpoint is not the same as equality from an economic standpoint. Mixing up these two meanings is a favorite rhetorical device of the proponents of egalitarian demagoguery.

If only purely theoretical considerations, which philosophers and moralists (lay or religious) particularly relish, were at issue here, then we could recognize this to be an interesting topic for a discussion, which, however, involves a relatively small group of experts on the subject. However, the issue looks different when particular ideas are included in the scope of political ideology in effect in the state, and their policy-mandated, systematic implementation—or at least efforts made to this end—become part of the prevailing social system. This is exactly the situation we are having to deal with under socialism. Social policy in effect, and, as it turns out, economic policy as well, depend to a great extent on how equality and justice in the economic sense are interpreted officially, and in the actual operation of the state and other organizations and institutions. The economic policy, instead of being based on the principles of rational management, is too often subordinated to ideological, and even moral, criteria, hence also the strange creatures of the economic bureaucracy and legislation,

such as "the socially admissible differentiation in wages," further unspecified "principles of social justice," etc. Of course, this influences the economy and other spheres of social life tremendously.

The erroneously interpreted economic equality hampers development; it is one of the main subjective factors blocking or delaying reforms. Not only some groups of decisionmakers, but also still quite numerous segment of society (variously estimated in different research and surveys) are the carriers of this "false consciousness." This is not to say, however, that we should submit to such opinions and invoke them as justification for the reforms carried out too slowly or incompletely.

It is known that the slogans of equality and justice (the same as those of freedom and independence) are among the most socially potent. Wars have been fought, people have been burned at the stake, and thrones have been toppled in the name of equality and justice. Many centuries had passed before, as a result of the capitalist revolutions of the 17th and 18th centuries, non-economic foundations of social inequality, the hierarchy of privileges and assets due "by birth" rather than due to work or the possession of capital, were abolished. In modern state law, the principle of equality of citizens became permanent, and is commonly accepted, despite the various limitations of it, associated with racial prejudice, discrimination of women, financial status, etc., being discarded with difficulty and gradually. Equality in the legal sense of the word means that all citizens have the same rights and responsibilities, at least formally. However, it soon turned out that justice based on it did not reflect the actual balance of social forces under capitalism. The statement that the law has a class nature and primarily protects the interests of the owners of the means of production was one of the first discoveries of young Marx. This became the point of departure for the concept—later developed in the mature works of the originators of marxism—of supplementing equality in the technical, legal sense by equality applicable to the economic and political conditions of life. Eliminating private ownership of the means of production was supposed to be its foundation. The classics of marxism emphasized that neither equality nor justice in the economic sense, incidentally the same as in the technical, legal sense, are absolute, universal values for all time. We can only talk about a greater or smaller degree of their implementation under specific historical conditions. As a rule, classes prevailing in a given society economically, and, due to that, politically, usually impose their interpretation of equality and justice. Genuine equality and justice were supposed to occur only in a classless system, due to a complete socialization of the process of producing and distributing goods, by equal access to work. Socialism, a system created as a result of the elimination of private ownership of the means of production, was supposed to be a preliminary stage on that road.

On the other hand, however, it should be recalled that the originators of marxism expected the transition to

socialism to occur in the most developed countries, where contradictions between the attained level of development of the productive forces and the relations of production would be the most powerful and impossible to control through reforms. If the necessity of the emergence of socialism were based only on moral postulates and egalitarian rhetoric, we would still remain in the circle of utopian, abstract and ahistoric theories. Thus, we would be dealing with utopian socialism, also criticized by Marx and Engels.

As is known, many of the predictions by classics did not come true. Socialism emerged in Russia, a poorly economically developed country, and its further development was determined to a great degree by factors of a political nature, which played a decisive role in the matter. Many major blunders, which we continue to pay for until now, have not been avoided in the countries of so-called real socialism.

Primitive egalitarianism, divorcing the issue of insuring equality and justice in the economic sense from the efficiency of management, and assuming the primacy of politics and ideology over economics, was one of such blunders. In practice, it frequently meant simply a downward pull: taking from the rich, suppressing opportunities for individual enterprise based on the desire for profit and welfare. Meanwhile, this desire remains a powerful driving mechanism in a goods-and-money economy, which is what a socialist economy also is (despite attempts to ignore economic laws). The consequences of such thinking and actions were not long in coming.

For example, administrative equalization of wages ("uravnilovka") after the October Revolution ended in a complete fiasco; it had to be abandoned quickly in view of disastrous economic consequences. The interest in better work declined, since poorer work was paid the same. On the other hand, waste increased, and speculation and the black market flourished, smashing the framework of the egalitarian utopia. Destroying private trade, crafts and manufacturing in the name of "equality and justice" (in our country, the famous "battle for trade" in the 1950s, among other things) brought the same results in the USSR and other socialist countries.

At present, when reforms have become downright necessary, a "to be or not to be" of the entire socialist structure, they are still restrained—though not as drastically as used to be the case—by a straightjacket of ideological dogmas, among which the identification of equality with social justice is prominent. To be sure, words are heard in the most prestigious forums to the effect that in the economy equality does not necessarily mean justly, that the best—the most enterprising, resourceful, productive ones—should be rewarded. However, the traditional thinking, based on the effort to reduce salary differentials and pull those working better down to the average, "socially acceptable" level, is still very widespread in the operations of the state apparatus,

the tax authorities, in relations between enterprises, groups of enterprises and industries. Nor has it been completely overcome in theory—in the achievements of social sciences and in treatises on the topic of socialist ideology.

It is difficult to consider satisfactory the statement that the elimination of private ownership of the means of production in itself established equality in the economic sense, because everyday observations contradict this. It is exactly in the economy or through the economy that

Various forms of inequality are reborn in our country. Examples of injustice, whereby good, profitable enterprises subsidize, through a system of taxes and arbitrary preferences, weaker enterprises, are generally known. The generally lower labor productivity and quality and efficiency of operations, compared to the economically developed capitalist countries, cause the supply of consumer goods to leave a lot to be desired in most countries of so-called real socialism. The common equivalent of goods, i.e. currency, cannot function in this capacity when many goods are unavailable or available with difficulty. Due to this, various certificates, coupons, vouchers, etc. appear for persons privileged for various reasons. For example, in the USSR or Poland, various formal and informal preferences determine whether one can buy a car. Wherever sought-after goods are in short supply, "arrangements" and "connections" of various types emerge. They clearly violate the principle of equality in the economic sense, or, simply put, equal opportunity to purchase merchandise with one's own money, without any additional papers, permits or bribes. Various forms of administrative rationing of merchandise or services are naturally unjust and demoralizing. In a shortage economy, as the Hungarian economist J. Kornai described centralized systems of planned economy under socialism to date, differences and inequality occur due to the shortage of sought-after goods and services. This is instead of inequality, otherwise natural in a goods-and-money economy—based on some having more, and others less, money, and the former group being able to buy more for themselves, while the latter try to keep pace with them, at least in part, which prompts them to expend extra effort and forces them to think of something. The shortages can be eliminated administratively only for certain social groups (e.g., the state apparatus, including the coercive apparatus, miners, etc.). In short, the average citizen evaluates equality and economic justice taking into account his standard of living and the things he sees in the shops, rather than theoretical and ideological considerations on the superiority of state (identified with social) ownership of the means of production over private ownership.

Economic equality is best guaranteed by well-stocked shops rather than even the most beautiful phraseology.

Thus far, the best success in ensuring the abundance of merchandise has been achieved in an environment where mechanisms of a market economy operate in

combination with sensible economic policy. These mechanisms are based not on equality, but, on the contrary, on the inequality of individual and group labor input, response time, resourcefulness, enterprise, etc., and on the marked differentiation in income associated with it. Increases in the wealth of social groups which are the driving force of the economy (promoters of scientific-technical progress, managers, workers in modern, productive industries, farmers, etc.) are the foundation of prosperity everywhere it exists. In this instance, the entire populace, using a broad offering of the market, has a stronger feeling of economic equality and financial bases for it. Meanwhile, a trend towards levelling the spread of incomes, suppressing demand, and restricting consumer aspirations has been, and still is, powerful in the theory and practice of socialism. An expression of views of this kind was found in the book "Barrier to Aspirations" by M. Gulczynski, which recognized excessive consumer needs and aspirations of society as the main cause of the Polish economic and political crises rather than the errors of economic policy, inefficient system of management and an obsolete structure of economy, dominated by the heavy and extractive industries, etc. Pursuing this line of reasoning, we would conclude that the ideal would be a society of ascetics and minimalists who are satisfied with what everyone has, and, overall, need little. Certainly, moral and ideological considerations should be the main incentive to work better. Unfortunately, this does not suffice anymore; dampening aspirations and an image of restrictions provide a disincentive and, in practice, mean tolerating various forms of inequality and injustice in the economic sense.

Thinkers who lived in the time of Marx and somewhat later already noted contradictions in the dogmatic version of socialist ideology, overemphasizing the elements of egalitarianism and collectivism. For example, Nikolai Berdiaev (1874-1948), a Russian philosopher who originally was a proponent of marxism and socialism, and later became one of the harbingers of Christian existentialism, wrote in his work "Philosophy of Inequality" (written in 1918, published in 1923), excerpts from which were recently reprinted in the Krakow ZDANIE:

"You socialists have thought up that poverty is a consequence of disequilibrium, and that the establishment of the domain of equality would put an end to it. This is one of the most preposterous reasonings imaginable from the economic point of view (...) a rebuttal of this falsely moralistic view could be found in Marx himself, to begin with (...) inequality was not only needed, but also beneficial. Due to it, it was possible to maximize achievements in economic life, to overcome poverty to the maximum. It is not true that inequality produces poverty. Quite the opposite, poverty creates inequality as a beneficial mechanism for preventing economic and cultural degradation and catastrophe. Inequality is a powerful tool for developing productive forces. Equality in poverty and privation would make the development of these forces impossible."

One cannot deny that N. Berdiaev, otherwise inclined towards mysticism, was correct and realistic in his opinion on the falsely interpreted equality and justice in the economic sense.

9761

Accomplishments of Consultative Council Sessions Reviewed

26000598 Warsaw *PERSPEKTYWY* in Polish No 30,
22 Jul 88 p 15

[Article by Ryszard Swierkowski: "Discussion about Poland"]

[Text] Soon now a book reporting on the first five sessions of the Consultative Council under the Chairman of the Council of State, held during 1986-1987, will appear in the bookstores. Altogether, seven such sessions were held, and for each of them extensive and thorough studies of one or another domain of societal life were prepared. Each session also bore fruit in the form of prolonged and fertile discussion. On this occasion it is worthwhile to offer a reminder of the most important aspects of the activity of the Consultative Council.

The Council was, as known, formed as one of the new institutions of public life enriching socialist democracy and broadening the plane of national consensus. In recent years many and varied social bodies have been formed, but usually they are of a particularized nature, whereas the Consultative Council is distinguished by its position, breadth of interests, and the unprecedented diversity of its members. Seventy percent of its membership are nonparty persons.

To some of them taking part in the Council's work was a difficult decision requiring courage, openness, and independence. From the outset it also was obvious that marked differences in views and world outlook would characterize that group—differences that after all exist within the society as a whole. It was, therefore, assumed that the discussion can be, properly speaking, about any topic, the object being to overcome the differences and at the same time preserve authenticity of views. Already at the inaugural session, held on 6 December 1986, Wojciech Jaruzelski recalled, "Consensus does not mean that everyone is in accord with some policy; it means that everyone is in accord on how to disagree."

From the vantage point of the 1 and ½ years since then, it is readily seen that the Council is becoming a new and unorthodox forge of political culture. The language by means of which mutual understanding is to be reached is being explored patiently and arduously on the forum of the Council. This is not easy considering that it is a meeting-place of individuals who previously did not meet, a forum for discussion among individuals who previously did not talk with each other and who remain at times divided by marked differences in views on both crucial and specific issues.

It was acknowledged that the Council is to be a maximally informal body as regards both its operating procedure and scope of competences. Its openness also consists in that that any member can resign from it at any time he thinks fit, and new members may join it in the future if the Council reaches that conclusion.

What issues did the Council consider during its seven sessions?

—The first session was devoted to a kind of preliminary discussion comprising practically all national issues. Against that background, the members tried to outline ways of emerging from the difficult situation and their own related tasks. Many of the speeches mentioned deformations in the domains of sociopolitical life, the economy, and social awareness.

—The second session was devoted to principal problems ensuing from forecasts of economic growth and the civilizational challenges facing the Polish nation in the perspective of the 21st century. The members had previously received copies of analyses, assessments, and expertises prepared by the "Poland 2000" Committee for Forecasting the Nation's Future. The discussion was inaugurated by the professors Kazimierz Secomski, Jan Karol Kostrzewski, and Antoni Rajkiewicz.

—The third and fourth sessions lasted for many hours and were devoted to unusually interesting and extensive discussion of the comprehensive study by Professor Jan Szczepanski, "From Diagnosis to Action." That study, of scholarly value in itself, was an attempt at assessing the contemporary Polish reality and the attendant recommendations for action in the social, political, and economic domains. Its conclusions were comprehensively analyzed.

It is worthwhile to dwell in some detail on that study, because it represents a penetrating "photograph" of the Polish national economy and, against this background, of collective behavior and responses.

The study commences with a description of the individual citizen and his importance in community life. Next, it discusses the family, its functions and particular interests, and the household and its participation in important processes. It views the family farm as an important economic institution. It also discusses the importance of the school system as well as the workstation, the workplace, and lastly the economy as a whole. Noteworthy is its original approach: from the particular to the general, and from the individual to the community.

Next, the author ponders the role of the state and its administration, the party, the possibilities for voluntary and local community organizations, the role of the church, and the effects of science, technology, and culture on the development of the society, the press, radio, and television. In each case he poses the same questions:

"What is its structure? What functions does it exercise? What are its interests and influence? What social issues does it affect? What is its effect on the other elements and the processes occurring within them? And lastly, what are its features or malfunctions that contribute to the crisis as a whole, and what aspects of it can be utilized to eliminate the crisis of the whole?"

The study formulates methodological principles: what should be done in the family, in the household, on the private peasant farm, at the workstation, in industry, and within the voluntary organizations, the party, and the state administration, in order to overcome the negative factors—both in each of these domains and in the national economy as a whole. Because, as the analysis demonstrates explicitly, all the domains of life of the society, even the seemingly distant ones, are interrelated and exist in definite interrelationships.

—The fifth session considered the draft program, prepared by the Council of Ministers, for implementing the second stage of the economic reform and the World Bank report, "The Polish Reform, Adjustment, Growth." The council supported the idea of an extensive economic reform and the attendant democratic political changes, expressing the conviction that conscious and rational support by the society is an indispensable prerequisite for the success of the reform. It stressed in its discussion that, in view of the social climate and the general waiting for the consequences of the reform, it is necessary to act rapidly, consistently, and effectively. The value of this discussion was considerable. It paid special attention to weak points in the presented program and to the perils that may arise while implementing it.

—At the sixth session the discussion dealt with the modifications and addenda to the draft program for implementing the second stage of the economic reform as well as with personnel policy and the intended revisions of laws governing elections to people's councils. The principal topic of the session was personnel policy and the scope and direction of its objectivization. It acknowledged the existence of disparities between assumptions and actual practice and the inadequate openness, clarity, and effectiveness of personnel policy, also as regards criteria assuring equal career opportunity regardless of party or organizational affiliation.

—The last, seventh session, on 27 May of this year, dealt with problems of Polish emigration and aspects of prolonged trips abroad by Polish citizens who do not intend to reside permanently abroad. Assessing the nature and scale of this trend, the Council resolved that cooperation with the multi-million emigre community abroad is not just of economic importance. It supported a policy intended to win over the emigres and a model of cooperation based on the assumption that these people, being linked to Polish culture and traditions, are a valuable national resource. Emphasis was also placed on the importance of contacts with the emigres of the 1980s,

while at the same time pointing to the need to overcome the highly unfavorable tendency to leave this country. The controversial and many-faceted discussion of emigration was an important factor in drafting a new state policy on this complex issue.

The discussion topics recalled here reflect the importance of the issues considered at sessions of the Consultative Council. But they do not reflect the richness of the comments and proposals offered there by many eminent representatives of various constituencies. That would require reading the entire record of the discussions. That is why the publication of that record in book form is a highly pertinent and valuable undertaking, not just for present needs but as a future historical source. The more so considering that the Seventh PZPR Central Committee Plenum forecast transforming the Consultative Council into a still more important body and one with greater prerogatives.

1386

Socialist Renewal, Restructuring: Is It Possible in Poland?

26000603 Warsaw *PRAWO I ŻYCIE* in Polish No 33,
13 Aug 88 pp 4-5

[Article by Mieczysław Krajewski: "In Fetters of Coal and Steel" under the rubric "Polish Restructuring"]

[Text] If we consider that in reality we had commenced the restructuring process in Poland as far back as in 1956, the effects attained during 32 years are no grounds for contentment. On the contrary, the irritation of the activist part of the working class, the intelligentsia, and the peasants is understandable. Against this background it is also understandable that the notion of the unreformability of socialism in Poland is held by many segments of the society in Poland, not just the oppositionist ones. For the fact that socialism is, this being indubitable, reformable as a system of society in general unfortunately does not lead to the conclusion that it is reformable in Poland.

The problem consists in whether forces capable of reforming our socialism exist.

The power of the old system hobbling our growth stems from the unity of an operating system based on "planimonopol" [planned domination of the entire economy by one or more of its branches] and from an economic structure created during the period of basic industrialization. In the socialist countries, during their stalinization, carried out chiefly in the years 1948-1953, there arose a system of monopolist organization of the economy. But that was a special monopoly, one utilizing the mechanism of central planning. Artur Sliwinski, the originator of the term and theory of "planimonopol," describes its nature as follows:

"1. In the economies of the socialist countries, in connection with their industrialization—as at the analogous development level in the capitalist countries—there arise branch and subsector monopolies. Their nature, to oversimplify it greatly, consists in that when, e.g., the FSO [Passenger Car Factory] is established, it desires to continually manufacture cars and derive good profits for them. Thus, every large enterprise of this kind is vitally interested in the growth of the subsector it belongs to.

"2. To overcome subsector monopoly—which is known from analyses of capitalism to be a source of parochialism—overall social planning was introduced. It was intended to surmount branch and subsector interests and subordinate them to general public interest.

"3. The actual power of central planning derives from its allocation of producer goods and finished products. The production process has been divorced from both producer goods and final production. Plants as well as great combines found themselves in the situation of cottage-industry workers. Both production—the effect of operation—and the influencing factors were outside the sovereign decisions of the enterprises. Anyone who has ever worked in or encountered the cottage-industry system knows that the position of the worker employed under this system is decided not by himself but by the sponsor—the provider of raw materials and/or the recipient of the finished products.

"4. This has resulted in a "cottage-industry" (command-allocation) planning system which has strengthened instead of surmounting the branch-subsector division of labor. That is because a "planimonopol" based on a "cottage-industry" planning system" has impeded any mobility of enterprises whatsoever by linking them to the place assigned to them in the social division of labor. A system that is by its very nature static and stagnant has thus arisen."

The 6-Year Plan Is Still Being Continued

However, the fact that the "planning agencies" attained a sovereign position vis a vis branch monopolies has been misinterpreted. Upon deeper analysis this assumption, obvious as it may be in theory, turned out to be fiction. Within the "planimonopol" there continued a shifting—in accordance with the logic of [vested] interests—struggle for the positions of branch monopolies at the planning agencies.

After all, not all branches of the economy are equal, even though they all have formally been demoted to the position of a "collective worker" employed by the "cottage-industry" system of the planimonopol." The strong, economically substantial, branches and subsectors began to attempt to gain mastery over the planning agencies, to gain mastery over the political system which established and oversaw these agencies.

The strongest of the branch-subsector monopolies achieved a position enabling them to control the entire "planimonopol." Thus it was possible to speak of the formation of, e.g., an armaments "planimonopol." Such a situation existed during World War II not only in the USSR and the United States but above all in the Third Reich.

In Poland, during the cold war and basic industrialization, was conceived a "planimonopol" that represented a combination, a synthesis, as it were, of the defense planimonopol and the coal and steel planimonopol. Since October 1956 elements of the defense planimonopol have been gradually, though not completely, disappearing. Owing to the detente it became possible to speak more and more distinctly of the planimonopol of coal and steel in Poland.

The structure of planimonopol made it possible, with the aid of the central political-economic institutions, to present branch interests as "national" interests. By strengthening its planning the coal and steel planimonopol created—not only in Poland—a monocentric bureaucratic economic system and a corresponding superstructure. This system functioned rather well so long as the country's growth could be based on coal and steel. What is more, by promoting its parochial interests it objectively promoted certain national and class—chiefly worker and peasant—interests.

However, the structure of prices and production and the manner of distribution of national income were from the very outset organized arbitrarily. That was an arbitrariness of a special kind. It was based on the principle, unwritten but followed with an iron consistency, that what is good for coal and steel is good for Poland. As early as since the 1960s the implementation of this principle began to imply the conservative concept of perpetuating Poland's backwardness and moreover the ecological devastation of Silesia—a situation that essentially is continuing to this very day.

The coal and steel planimonopol involved a substantial part of big-industry workers (as, in a way, the PSL [Polish Peasant Party] used to involve part of the peasantry) in its own branch interests, although by then they already became historically conservative interests. But this does not mean, contrary to what some people claim, that the entire big-industry working class employed in the steel and extraction industries is a base of support for the "black[-coal] oligarchy." The opposite: we can perceive a growing resistance of miners and steelworkers to the policy of coal and steel planimonopol, their growing support for a radical socioeconomic restructuring. This was confirmed by the results of the referendum. One should, however, be aware that there has arisen a powerful economic and sociopolitical system freezing Poland's structural development at the level of basic industrialization. For years this system has been shaping

the specific historical nature of the state, the political system, and the cardinal principles of the binding ideology, and presenting its solutions as "model" socialism.

Nowadays no one any longer—not even opponents of the restructuring—doubts that what is gripping us in the claws of stagnation and miring us in impotence is of a dual nature. First, there is the backward economic structure, that very structure in which we had taken pride as a great accomplishment during the 6-Year Plan period. It is a structure such that our development is essentially based on coal and steel. It locates Poland in an already outdated era of civilizational growth. Second, there is the operating mode of our economy, developed during the period of laying the foundations of a socialism whose foundation became the coal and steel planimonopol and whose superstructure became a particular kind of an omnipotent state.

Both these elements constituting the 6-Year Plan shape of socialism—which was and is the Polish version of Stalinism—now are undergoing an obvious crisis. Thus this is a double crisis: the crisis of the socioeconomic structure and of the operating system of the economy.

It is the crisis of the economic structure that we feel most keenly, but that has to be the subject of a separate article.

Plan Revisions Are Needed

In his penetrating article on revising the NPSG [National Socioeconomic Plan], "Break This Deadlock" (ZAGADNIENIA I MATERIAŁY, No 27/28, July 1988), Tomasz Jezioranski observes, "All this time the government has consistently offered the view that changes in the plan are not needed. Most authoritative on this matter was the opinion of Deputy Prime Minister Zbigniew Szalajda who, in an interview granted to POLITYKA, declared that the 5-Year [1986-1990] Plan is optimal and all that is needed is to fulfill it efficiently. An identical view was expressed at the 'operational level,' by the directors of Planning Commission taskforces Stanislaw Pajewski and Stanislaw Zawadzki who, writing in ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE, rejected the postulate for revising the investment plan."

T. Jezioranski continues, "It was only after Professor Zdzislaw Sadowski became deputy prime minister and head of the Planning Commission that he found that revising the NPSG, especially in its investment part, was indispensable. At the same time, however, his deputies maintained that the plan needed no revisions. The disparity of views within the leadership of the Commission was so fundamental and at the same time so publicly obvious that it became the subject of a kind of interpellation during the Congress of Economists."

Deputy Prime Minister Sadowski declared that the differences in views that manifested themselves among the Commission's leadership were eliminated as a result of "a frank discussion," and that the plan will be revised.

"The deadlock between supporters and opponents of changes in investment policy resulted in the loss of more than a year. Actually, if we consider the nature of investment processes, the loss is much greater, because the third year of the plan period is the one decisive to specific facts accomplished."

The proposed revisions of the NPSG refer to basically minor reallocations of investment outlays. This concerns abandoning the construction of the K-2 Mine in the Lublin Coal Basin and postponing until the next 5-year plan the construction of two Silesian mines, the Szczercow open-strip mine, and a sugar plant in Tysowice.

The attempt to balance the economy by means of a price-income operation (which in this context can be interpreted as a substitute for changes in economic policy) has not, as known, succeeded. The report submitted to the Sejm by the National Bank of Poland depicts the scale of this failure during the first quarter of this year (the results for May and June confirm the Bank's assessment).

Growth indicators of prices and incomes could not be kept within the government-adopted ceiling of 30-40 percent and it is estimated that the inflation rate this year will exceed 60 percent (in 1984 it was 14.8 percent).

Against this background, the importance and significance of the resolutions of the Seventh Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee are more evident. These resolutions were strengthened by means of indispensable personnel changes. Professor Wladyslaw Baka, a person who has been consistently championing changes in economic policy and restructuring of the economy, became the Economics Secretary of the PZPR. Revamping the structure of our economy is a necessity. This process, which is to be the basis for Poland's advancement, is simply indispensable.

1386

Foreign Affairs Official in Libya

26000573b Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
29 Jun 88 p 10

[Unattributed article: "Polish-Libyan Relations"]

[Text] Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Jan Majewski spent 27-28 June in the Libyan Arab People's Socialist Djamahariya where he held talks with Mufta Madim, a member of the People's Committee of the Bureau for Foreign Relations. He also met with the governor of the Libyan Central Bank, M. Z. Radjab.

12261

Ambassador to USSR Stresses Need for Perestroyka

26000535a Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
18-19 Jun 88 p 2

[Text] "Some of the opinion in the West is unfavorable or simply hostile with regard to the USSR, and is more afraid of the success of perestroyka than Soviet rockets," declared Wlodzimierz Natorf, the Polish ambassador to the USSR, during a meeting on 17 June with the TPPR [Society for Polish-Soviet Friendship] aktiv. The meeting was devoted to restructuring and new thought in the USSR.

The ambassador emphasized that perestroyka includes all areas of life. For example, a great many changes are visible in Soviet foreign policy, although the basic objectives of peace, detente, and disarmament remain unchanged. The differences affect the means and methods of action, and also the courage for reaching these goals. In practice this means that the USSR is ready to discuss these subjects with all partners, and the effects of such an approach can already be seen, for example, after summit meetings.

A fundamental change in the means and methods of action also affects the functioning of the party. The CPSU of course does not intend to give up its leading role in the community. The idea is to divest itself of those functions which limit or simply deform this role. For the party cannot replace all organizations, institutions, or state bodies. Very deep theoretical studies have also been undertaken, which based on the teachings of Marx and Lenin define this role of the party in society.

The dilemmas of perestroyka are enormous. Such matters as the question of nationality or religion, and the approach to economic problems including central reform are affected. Restructuring will not take place without resistance. They [dilemmas] often result from the form of the traditional way of understanding socialism and what is appropriate to it. "One thing is certain," stated the ambassador, "there is no turning back from perestroyka." Soviet society has an awareness that if the basic deep changes are not carried out, there exists a possibility for returning to a period of stagnation.

13324/7310

Polish-Nicaraguan Friendship Society Formed

26000610i Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
13 Jul 88 p 9

[News item: "Polish-Nicaraguan Friendship Society Formed"]

[Text] On the occasion of the upcoming national holiday of the Republic of Nicaragua, the Poland-Latin America Society held a gala meeting. It was attended by political

and social activists, scientists, cultural administrators, and reporters. Present was the Ambassador of the Republic of Nicaragua to Poland Fanor Antonio Herrera Perez.

During the meeting the formation of the Polish-Nicaraguan Friendship Society was announced. Roman Samuel became its chairman.

1386

Bulgarian, Polish Defense Organizations

26000535g Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
22 Jun 88 p 2

[Text] A delegation visiting Poland from the Central Council of Defense Organizations in the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria headed by Lt Gen Trifon Balkanski met with the leadership of the LOK [National Defense League] Main Administration; information was exchanged on experiences in patriotic-defense work, ideological-upbringing work, and propaganda, and prospects for further development of contacts between both organizations were discussed.

13324/7310

Polish-Soviet Electrical Machinery Company

26000573e Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
1 Jul 88 p 2

[Text] In Ostrzeszow (Kalisz Voivodship) on 30 June, an agreement was signed to form the Polish-Soviet "Fimbas, Ltd" electrical machinery partnership.

"Fimbas" is the fruit of nearly 20 years of cooperation between the Pomar Mechanical Equipment Works in Ostrzeszow and the Soviet electrical machinery industry. During this period, the small "Fum-Ponar" plant grew to become one of the CEMA nations' largest producers and exporters of magnetic clutches. Since 1969, it has exported more than 6 million of these clutches to the USSR and at the present time, about 70 percent of the Soviet machine industry's demand for such clutches is filled by the plant in Ostrzeszow. Such a scale of production attests to the high degree of cooperation and that is the reason that both partners felt it was necessary to improve their cooperative ties.

12261

Swede, Gwiazda Discuss Further Economic Ties

26000570d Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
30 Jun 88 p 2

[Unattributed article: "Polish-Swedish Cooperation"]

[Text] On 28 June, Foreign Trade Minister Wladyslaw Gwiazda received a visit from Jan Aulin, chairman of the Swedish firm IKEA's Supervisory Council and its general director. They discussed the possibilities for

further cooperation between this international firm and the Polish furniture industry and opportunities for a joint venture in Poland to produce and sell furniture.

12261

American Economist on Reforms, Pessimism
26000575c Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish
1 Jul 88 p 3

[Interview with Professor Abram Bergson of Harvard University by Tadeusz Stec in the 21 May issue of GAZETA KRAKOWSKA: "Depressed Economists"]

[Text] An American economist who recently visited Krakow, Professor Abram Bergson of Harvard University, gave an interview to Tadeusz Stec of GAZETA KRAKOWSKA on 21 May:

[Question] The economies of the socialist countries, Poland included, have started to reform. How would you assess the present state of these reforms?

[Answer] Economic reform is a lengthy process with its own natural fits and starts. The present reform is in its starting stages. But there is no doubt that if you want to revitalize your economy, you must have reforms. The economic reform must also be accompanied by political reform. What seems to be most important is that the reform process lead in the right direction.

[Question] The common feeling in Poland is that reform has not produced the expected results.

[Answer] Poland's illusions are a very serious hindrance to reform and such illusions also limit what I would say is your field of maneuver. Currency problems lie outside of my specialization but I think that there is no other way to alleviate your debt load than to take a harder approach to bank negotiations in order to gain some relief and better credit terms.

[Question] During your visit to Krakow, you have exchanged ideas with some of our own economists. What is your opinion of these discussions?

[Answer] On most issues, our opinions were the same or similar. However, I was struck by the sense of pessimism and depression of my Polish colleagues and that is not a good sign.

12261

Soviet Periodical Interviews Primate Glemp
26000535c Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
18-19 Jun 88 p 11

[Text] Correspondent Slawomir Popowski reports that the Soviet periodical ARGUMENTY I FAKTY published an interview with the primate of Poland, Cardinal Jozef Glemp.

Here is the substance of the interview:

[Question] Quite a few Polish believers are party members. How can PZPR membership be reconciled with religious beliefs?

[Answer] Believers want to participate actively in building the new Poland. At the same time some of them realize that not being in the party, they would not be able to show their strengths and capabilities fully. Also, the party needs active people and therefore winks at their religiousness.

[Question] How have relations between church and state turned out recently?

[Answer] Various. These were very difficult times. Now we are entering the area of dialogue and cooperation. Socialism, which presently exists in Poland, does not oppress religion. However, there were times when the church was forbidden to build new sanctuaries. But nowadays the state is meeting believers halfway and is not hindering such construction.

[Question] According to church data, about 1,000 churches were built in the PRL in the last 7 to 8 years. Yet it is known that most Poles are none too rich. And although church offerings are voluntary, doesn't this require them to deny themselves or their families something?

[Answer] The buildings are not expensive, since the allocated funds are used only for purchasing materials, and the faithful themselves do the work, voluntarily and without pay. I would also like to point out that churches are built primarily in new housing developments whose inhabitants want to be together and to practice their religion.

[Question] From time to time you meet with the head of the PRL State Council, Wojciech Jaruzelski. Are these meetings regular or sporadic?

[Answer] We meet regularly. I have held more than 200 such meetings already. So one may speak of them as something permanent. Both W. Jaruzelski and I consider these meetings to be very effective and useful.

[Question] And where, if this is not a secret, do you meet? On church territory, if one may say this, or on the state's?

[Answer] We meet in government rooms, but not in working quarters.

[Question] What is your attitude toward the processes of openness [glasnost] and restructuring [perestroika] in the USSR?

[Answer] I think that this is a phenomenon having significance for the whole world, chiefly in the area of ideology. I read Gorbachev's book, "Restructuring and New Thought." It appears to me that restructuring opens new horizons to mankind. In my understanding it means ultimately a rejection of lies, violence, treachery, and myths.

[Question] Could you say a few words about yourself?

[Answer] I was born in 1929 in the family of a salt-mine worker. During the occupation I worked at home and on a farm. I finished school after the war and entered the university to pursue Polish studies, but not long after that I transferred to a seminary. I perfected my knowledge of the Vatican, where I specialized in Roman law. I was secretary to the primate of the Polish Catholic Church.

[Question] Are you in our country for the first time?

[Answer] No. I am in the USSR for the second time already. The first time I visited your country as a tourist in 1976. Concerning my present visit to the USSR, it has left me with unforgettable, magnificent impressions. Moreover, I still kept in mind the warmest recollections from my visit as a tourist. Most of all, the cordiality and hospitality of Soviet citizens.

13324/7310

Soviets Award Medals to Polish Generals
26000535e Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
22 Jun 88 p 2

[Text] A ceremony took place to give a group of generals in the Polish People's Army "70th Anniversary of USSR Armed Forces" medals in the Embassy of the Soviet Union in Warsaw. This award, bestowed by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union at the suggestion of the Ministry of Defense of the USSR, is given in our country to combatants who participated with the Soviet Army in the liberation of Poland, and also to deserving LWP [Polish People's Army] soldiers in strengthening the brotherhood-in-arms and friendship between our armies and people.

13324/7310

Loopholes in Proposed Economic Bill Threaten Intended Gains
26000454 Warsaw PRAWO I ZYCIE in Polish No 26,
25 Jun 88 pp 3-4

[Article by Eugeniusz Piontek: "The Dice Game"]

[Text] [Boxed item: Several days ago the first reading in the Sejm took place of the draft of a law for undertaking economic activity. It will be analyzed in the immediate future by Sejm members. We recommend the article by Prof Eugeniusz Piontek to those working on the final form of the bill.]

It is certainly true that people expect reform too much and too quickly. However, it is also true that for a couple generations a belief in an economic miracle was stubbornly inculcated in them. The links between the real value of work and wages was severed. In its place was introduced more or less "progressive shops," whatever they were to be. Making decisions was detached from the responsibility for executing them.... Then who should be blamed and who should be first to be taught?

We have been initiating reform for 7 years. The second stage has been in effect for 10 months, and at the very least for half a year, and only now a bill to undertake economic activity has appeared in the Sejm. Has too much time been wasted on it already? But perhaps it was necessary for things to come to this. I shall accept this.

Before this draft came to rural [councils], consultations on it were made in the most diverse bodies. The government worked on it; the Economic Reform Commission evaluated it; and the Legislative Council gave its opinion on it. And that is not all. Along the way "collective" and writers' drafts appeared. O God, dear Zygmunt, after Your unexpected departure who has the enthusiasm for writing, "as it is, and as it might be?" But the editor Szeliga is no longer among us. [Reference to Zygmunt Szeliga, deputy editor in chief of POLITYKA and columnist for RZECZPOSPOLITA, who passed away in Jun 1988]

An Economic Freedom Card

I have before me the draft of the bill for undertaking economic activity, and I am not at all certain whether I should begin with praise or reproach. For it deserves both the one and the other. Of course, there are no perfect legal documents in Poland nor anywhere else. To create any legal act requires that one first define clearly what one wants to achieve by this act. For the selection of measures depends on the choice of goals, and not the other way around.

The adoption of unsuitable measures leads inevitably to consequences different from those assumed, and in the best case to a caricature of them. I fear that this matter has not been fully thought through. And who knows whether once again a text of a bill will be proposed in order to serve two mutually unfriendly gods, for only in this way will one be successful in "bargaining" for today?

I shall try to look at this calmly.

The draft begins beautifully. "The undertaking and leadership of economic activity," we read in article 1, "is free and permitted to each one based on equal rights, with preservation of the conditions defined by the law's regulations." Perfect. It is a real turning-point. However, I personally would prefer to change the last word to "statutes" with regard to legal protection. A statute is a statute, however. On the other hand, we know the power

of the temptation to "improve" statutes through acts of lower government and the results of these practices. Yet this concerns the conditions for implementing economic freedom.

The universality of the freedom defined in article 1 of the draft is of utmost importance. For it applies to all possible subjects as well as forms and types of property. It finally places a limit on absurd and economically harmful divisions into better, worse, and vague subjects. A merit of the draft is also an unequivocal acceptance of individuals having no legal status as economic subjects. Only may it not be forgotten during reform of the civil code. The matter is truly in good hands, but it doesn't hurt to drop a hint.

We all remember last autumn the commotion and applause with which the initial proposition for the government's program for the second stage was greeted, which proclaimed, "What is not forbidden is allowed." The slogan of that time now stands to become the law. It is a real turning-point. How very necessary. How very much anticipated. For here article 7 of the draft states: "Economic subjects may...perform...all legal work and activities which are not forbidden by law...." So finally there are prospects for placing a limit on the economic barbarity of prohibitions and injunctions, on what, to whom, with whom, in which proportions and on what bases, or with what aim, as well as where and why one may do or may not do something.

Someone will say, "Well and good, however, so much could be forbidden that the remaining margin of real freedom will be equal to and perhaps less than that which we have had up till now in our economic life." Fortunately, detailed provisions contained in points 1 to 6, article 7, develop the basis of freedom of activity in a way guaranteeing economic subjects an extensive range of autonomy in the choice of types and of methods and means of performing their tasks.

It looks as though there will be an end to punishment for showing initiative, an end to opposition to launching means of production or services "without proper authority," and to frustration of cooperation in research whether the partners have the right to undertake it or not, and in whose capacity and to what extent either of the parties participate in it. For in accordance with the provisions of article 7, point 2, they will have the right "to undertake all activities aimed at the production and complete finishing of fabricated articles, and work and services performed individually or jointly with other economic subjects," independently of who these are. And so there will be no high-handed interference in these matters by administrative and controlling bodies. It is simply difficult to overestimate the importance of this legacy for enlivening economic activity.

Perhaps at last our already proverbial shortage of capsules will come to an end, while manufacturers of eyeglass frames also will be able to produce spare hinges without risking fines or closing of their establishment for "overstepping" authority.

Perhaps it will begin to be worthwhile to produce thousands of retail items, as well as large and small appliances which are very much needed, but unavailable. Up till now, only too often shortages of these things occur only because it is not profitable for someone who could produce certain elements without difficulty and at a profit to buy the additional set of tools necessary for finishing the items, and someone else, who would be ready to invest in this, would not be able to do anything with the purchased machines. For existing bureaucratic intra- and interdepartmental, sectorial, and other barriers effectively block the flow of agents and constituents of production and services. The draft portends the beginning of the end of these absurdities.

The provisions of article 7, point 1 together with point 2 not only facilitate all these operations, but also may contribute to reducing their costs, as well as to accelerating and promoting elasticity in intraindustrial transactions and limiting wastefulness, and will also have a beneficial effect on the increase and diversity of supply. They curb the absurd distribution of so-called production or also "market" and "cooperative" supplies, as if cooperation were not a component of market operations.

One should evaluate the provisions of the remaining points of article 7 equally positively, in which chiefly is delineated the breaking up of transportation and supply monopolies and privileges in the area of services, and of services in the domain of individual production and commercial promotion and negotiations. With no exaggeration this is all a harbinger of changes of historic scope for our fettered economy, in large and small measure.

For will not the imposition of compulsory mediators in key industries and on small producers or between them be continually possible? Will craftsmen's establishments have to use the services of specialized handicraft cooperatives, in order to purchase needed goods in the state enterprise? I suspect not. This would be in defiance of the provisions proposed by the bill. There are countless such matters, and one should anticipate that the responsible execution of its provisions would permit returning the situation in these areas to a normal state.

The Labor Market

Finally, there is the entitlement of article 9, which guarantees that "an economic subject may employ workers without the intervention of employment agencies...." And so this is a foreshadowing of the creation of a labor market and the placing of a limit on administrative "allocation" of workers, as if employment agencies were competent to judge for someone how many and which workers he needed. This is at last a very important guarantee of civil rights in the free choice of work place.

How much economic and human harm is caused by the administration of labor by the market? After all, it facilitates the artificial linking up of workers with a given

workplace. It allows one to obtain employment which would be superfluous in case of implementation of relevant changes in labor organizations and modernization of machinery and methods of management. Up to now, every bungler could complain in employment agencies about the "disappearance" of his "needed" workers and demand a slowing-down of the outflow.

There is however a certain "but" in article 9. To wit, it is stipulated in paragraph 2 that an economic "subject" being a natural person may employ up to 50 workers for one shift; this also affects partnerships whose participants are exclusively natural persons. Indeed, paragraph 4 qualifies the minister of labor and social policy for kinds of activity in which most workers could be employed, but I will not develop this matter to the end.

It [the bill] has two different aspects. First, the provision of article 9, paragraph 2, breaks the basis of equal treatment of all economic subjects to the disadvantage of natural persons and companies of natural persons, though not cooperatives formed by exclusive participation of such individuals. Thus differentiation is made not only with respect to type of proprietorship, but also to form. What profit will this bring and to whom? To the national economy or to the public? I doubt it. Please show me.

Second, why return again to the foundations of a nationalizing decree after more than 40 years, since it fulfilled its role. After all, outside of agriculture today, over 90 percent of the entire work force is employed in socialized workplaces. And if this percentage were to fall even by 10 to 15 percent, this would not change the essence of the structure. Only an intensification of the mess in socialized industries could threaten a fundamental dislocation of these proportions. Things cannot come to this, however.

One should greet with highest approval inclusion in the draft of the category of "side-line wage earners," and thus those who "do not constitute a main source of livelihood" (article 5). These encompass various little jobs producing objects for daily personal, home, and farm use, like decorative items in folk crafts as well as repair of these devices. Also included in this is the maintenance of dwellings, harvest and sale of forest undergrowth, unprocessed agricultural and orchard products, meat from one's own animal husbandry and production of home-made meals. Overall, most of this greatly facilitates the daily life of one and improves the family budgets of another with a common benefit. This activity will not even need to be declared to the registration agencies. In short, it is a sanctioning of reality and a great simplification for those rendering and obtaining services. Very good.

Here we come to the next simplifications, which were both practical. Thus, the draft proposes that before undertaking economic activity, one will not need to solicit a permit. Registration with a registration agency

will be sufficient. Requirements for a license will be an exception limited to just 20 cases listed in article 21. These include mining, production of pharmaceutical, alcohol, sugar, explosives, and tobacco products, production of means of communication, air and railway services, international motor transport, international shipping, and public bus transportation. Also listed are management of drugstores and caregiving institutions, publishing, and trade in cultural goods originating prior to 9 May 1945, and finally processing of and trade in non-ferrous metals and precious and semiprecious stones.

One can agree with all or almost all of this. Almost, since besides the above-mentioned international motor transport, foreign trade is also on the list, and, what really is surprising, the wholesale trade of goods. It would be good to remember that Yugoslavia somehow manages without a monopoly on foreign trade, and the Hungarians simply desist from it. Control of exports and imports is something different.

But wholesale trade? Why would this have to be licensed? Doesn't this concern the maintenance of bureaucratically convenient and equally ponderous monopolies and pseudomonopolies on supply and the market? They bring more harm than good and in this area, in view of the scope of economic activity, one simply would have to do a general cleanup. Above all we should demonopolize. Let competition arise, and let each wholesaler prove himself in the marketplace and not in licensing offices. This matter is too important, only it is possible to overlook it. "One" such bottleneck could annihilate the positive effects of economic freedoms in other areas.

Hidden Restraints

The matter of the list in article 21 of the draft is only a segment of the problem. Outwardly this is a comprehensive list. On the other hand, application to paragraph 2 of the rule, "the Council of Ministers, on the way to an ordinance, may exclude several types of activity from the requirement of obtaining a license..." is cited in paragraph 1. This sounds quite optimistic. For one could judge that the list will only be able to be reduced, but not expanded. The fact of the matter is that now it already is in fact significantly more extensive.

So it is good to remember that article 3 of the draft eliminates the impact of the bill not only on agriculture, forestry, horticulture, fruit growing, and animal husbandry, but also on banking, insurance, and many other important types of economic activity. In general it makes exceptions, and does not only give requirements for obtaining licenses. A little of this was likely overstated. Very different matters are thrown into one pot at the same time.

I do not know the specifics for farming. It could be the authors of the draft did the right thing, especially if one accepts that the draft is something on the order of an industrial law in general outline. On the other hand, I have very serious doubts concerning the appropriateness of excluding banking and insurance. They are too important components of economic activity to exclude them generally from binding rules in this area. Besides, the activity of banks and insurance companies is one of the subjects on which GATT multilateral international negotiations are being conducted. At stake in these negotiations is liberalization in both areas. I do not believe that the approach of the draft to this matter facilitates our negotiating position, to say nothing of later adjustments to the results of the negotiations. At least, why not subject this activity to licensing? This would be significantly better than nothing, since in this case it would not sound like a desire to protect ruthless monopolies nor signify their full recognition.

But the draft also contains other hidden prohibitions and limitations. Discussion of all of them is not possible here. Anyway, several evoke sympathy in order to mention the privileged treatment of activity by disabled persons. Advancing to actual monopolies here would likely be an exaggeration, but in article 42, paragraph 2, just this sort of thing is proposed. Many specific exceptions arise from article 71. It begins with the words, "The law abides by the regulations," after which follows a list of 17 legal acts. It suffices to read them attentively, in order to understand which exceptions are meant here.

Registration or Licensing?

The draft ultimately contains other surprises of a completely fundamental nature having universal significance. So on the one hand it proclaims freedom to undertake economic activity and declares a reduction in the exceptions to cases in which obtaining a license is required, and on the other hand it limits this freedom. There are traps hidden in the regulations concerning the registration procedure.

It all begins very innocently with the reasonable notation in article 6 and the equally noncontroversial requirements of article 14, paragraph 1. Who, what, and where one wants to work and in what form. Information on fulfilling conditions for fire prevention, sanitation, decent life, professional qualifications, and so forth. But in article 14, paragraph 2 there appear authorizations chiefly for the Council of Ministers. To wit, it is guaranteed the right to designate in which cases an addendum is required to notification of a plan for equipping and furnishing quarters or premises used for economic activity, and on top of that, a concise description of the technology. For registration purposes?

Article 13 states that "the registration agency performs the registration of economic activity based on an application." However, this is only apparently so. For in reality this agency can refuse a registration if, as stated in

article 16, paragraph 1, "the application...raises doubt," even if all required certifications are affixed to the proposal. And so the registration agency will have not only registration authority but also substantial powers. Further provisions of this article discuss a clarifying procedure. It is here that a St Vitus dance can begin on the subject of the anticipated technology for production and services, and so on essential matters of their substance, on the subject of a spatial plan for an enterprise, and so forth. Yet this is nothing other than a modified procedure for issuing a license!

In addition to this is the obligation of an economic subject to notify the registration agency within a period of 14 days of all changes in the actual and legal status relative to that subject and activity conducted by it within the scope embraced by its proposal for registration (article 19). Then the registration agency will be able to lodge its objection, cancel the registration, and thus practically withdraw the issued license.

No differentiation in the way of treating deviations from binding requirements depending on their seriousness is even attended to at all. Trivialities and serious offenses are to be treated the same, which means at the discretion of the registration agency. Check, interfere, punish! But yet in this way we punish ourselves, our economy, and people employed in particular establishments, even the state treasury.

Perhaps our bureaucrats really do not imagine how these matters could be regulated and handled otherwise. If so, let it at least become their exclusive worry and not for all of us. Let them at last begin to learn, not only from pamphlets and lecture notes. Let them observe how these matters are regulated in other countries, starting with the most highly developed. But let them stop ruining the home economy. This cannot be tolerated, even behind a screen of "economic freedom."

Not in the Interests of Handicrafts

Finally, the point of freedom is in associating. Article 27 proclaims a voluntary basis. However, it turns out that this is not for all economic subjects. For here article 28, paragraph 3 states, "The law designates as separate organizations of economic subjects being natural persons making handicrafts as well as the rules of their work." Once again the handicrafts bureaucracy may triumph, for they are not handicrafters themselves. Yet they have protected their organizational monopoly.

And so once again there are the equal and the more equal ones. But what can this serve? Not "preservation of the ancient tradition of handcrafting guilds." This is a slogan without content. Maintaining trade guilds and their traditions is one thing, and the obligation to associate in the structures mentioned is another, and please don't mix these questions. Those who seek to do this act in bad faith and not in the interest of handicrafts.

And one more thing. I have in mind the range of powers of "economic bureaus." Several of them smell of domineering powers or at least exclusive ones. Perhaps this is only a matter of awkward wording. Perhaps, although knowing the force of habits toward centralization of decisions and management, it may also be otherwise. Otherwise in any case certain settlements may be carried out. Expanded, to the detriment of the independence of associated economic subjects.

I'll give two examples. One is the right "to present associated economic subjects (economic bureaus) before state administrative bodies...." Putting the matter this way suggests that the interests of the bureau and the interests of the subjects associated in it are identical, which does not prove correct in reality. For certain this is not true in a sufficiently large number of cases and situations to treat these matters separately. It would be much better if article 32, point 1 dealt with representation through a bureau of group interests and individual associated subjects based on their own pronouncements and votes in the matters mentioned. The position of the bureau's machinery must not at all be in line with the interests of special groups of members, and all the more so of individual members. So let them have the unequivocal right to speak for themselves.

The second matter is the content of point 14, the last one of this article 32. it stipulates that the bureaus may also carry out other tasks not mentioned in the bill or resulting from special regulations or from those defined in the statute. This is already too much. Yet this practically amounts to turning over all possible tasks to the bureaus inclusive of the realization of a domineering management. A good law is not written in such language and in this way.

Can we really not afford a proclamation of economic freedom and withdrawal from the licensing system, independently of the names that we give it? Will economic freedom including the right to associate, and thus the freedom to decide by the economic subjects themselves, not be able to be that which it should be?

This bill must be good and true, or it would be better if it did not exist at all.

13324/7310

Central Administration Reductions Continue
26000610c Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
4 Jul 88 p 2

["An Increasingly Thrifty Administration: Personnel of National Agencies Halved; Nearly a Billion Zlotys in a Special Account; Continued Profligate Use of Automobiles and Telephones"—PAP report]

[Text] The abolition of 16 ministries and national agencies, which were replaced with eight ministries, enabled us to reduce their personnel to 3,000 from 6,000. The number of department directors decreased by 58 percent.

The personnel reductions were also followed by a decrease in the number of offices, passenger cars, microbuses, and buses operated by central institutions.

Relatively greatest savings were achieved by abolishing the Ministry of Mining and Power Industry, the Ministry of Metallurgical and Machinery Industries, the Ministry of Chemical and Light Industry, and the Ministry of Materials and Fuel Management, which were merged into a single ministry.

Nearly one billion zlotys is already contained in a special bank account established for the savings gained as a result of cutbacks in vehicle fleets, telephones, and official travel at state offices, industrial enterprises, and cooperative organizations.

According to an assessment by the Commission for Cutbacks under the Committee of the Council of Ministers for Adherence to Law, Public Order, and Discipline, this amount does not reflect all the savings achieved owing to various measures taken in recent months. It does not include, e.g., the savings achieved by transferring official telephones to private users or reducing the motor pool.

However, it also is a fact that, while demonstrating savings in the use of automobiles and telephones as well as in official travel, a majority of voivodship governments has not yet made any payments into the above-mentioned account.

As stressed at a session of the Commission for Cutbacks, both the status of that bank account and analyses of the situation in certain government offices, enterprises, and cooperatives point to the presence of a considerable potential for further savings. This applies particularly to cooperative unions and organizations. For example, late last year the "Peasant Self-Help" Union of Agricultural Cooperatives in Lublin Voivodship operated as many as 11 passenger cars. The Rayon Supply and Marketing Cooperative in Malenska Limanowa had, in addition to an internal switchboard, as many as 43 separate direct-dialing telephones, while "only" 25 such telephones were installed at the seat of the "Peasant Self-Help" Gmina Cooperative Board in Katy Wroclawskie.

1386

OPZZ Labor-Social Policy Ministry at Odds About Pensions, Social Welfare
26000573a Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
29 Jun 88 p 10

[Article by Bozena Jastrzebska: "Council of OPZZ Work Veterans Discusses—What Sort of Pensions and Social Welfare System Should There Be?"]

[Text] Tuesday's plenum meeting of the Council of OPZZ Work Veterans must be one of the most interesting and important it has ever held because it touched upon such sensitive social issues as pensions and social welfare and presented a union proposal for a new system.

What are its main assumptions? In brief, they are: a uniform system (at the present time, there are 23 different systems and many additional legal regulations); sharper definition of pensions as post-paid wages rather than as a form of social welfare; standardized conditions for the work time used to calculate pensions; inclusion into pensions of all factors used to consider ZUS [Social Security Agency] fees or the so-called "fourteen" or the profit award; establishment of a fixed ratio between average pensions and average working wages; valorization of pensions twice a year; excluding supplements for state awards from pensions because the former should not be paid out of worker contributions.

We asked Stanislaw Wisniewski, chairman of the Council, to comment on the union initiative.

"In spite of numerous assurances that the government would consult with the public on its bill to change the pension and social welfare system, this has never seen the light of day and our own suggestions and proposals were referred to the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy without any response from the latter. We have therefore come up with our own plan and if it is accepted by the OPZZ Council and Executive Committee, we will present it for universal public consultation. We have already consulted with the union organizations."

Jan Malinowski, secretary of the Work Veteran's Council, presented his idea of how to protect the ZUS funds against inflation. He referred to the difference left over once all benefits are paid out. Up to now, this remainder has been placed in a bank at four percent interest but unionists feel that this is an improper practice and not in keeping with the principles of the second stage of economic reform. Under the new union concept, these reserve funds (which at the end of December of last year amounted to 528 billion zlotys) can and should be put to better use. Accordingly, if this money is to be left in the bank, then it should receive the same amount of interest as a long-term deposit. These funds can be better used to create joint enterprises, etc. ZUS money should be used not only for benefits but also to fund the renovation of retirement homes, to build professional rehabilitation centers, to manufacture rehabilitation equipment and to protect the environment, etc. The Council feels that such extensive and flexible activity can only be achieved by giving the unions control over the ZUS.

12261

OPZZ Views Union Movement Integration, Pluralism, Reform Support

26000575h Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
1 Jul 88 p 3

[Article by Teresa Grabczynska: "The OPZZ Council on the Future of the Union Movement—How to More Effectively Defend Working People and in What Structures?"]

[Text] If someone were to ask at this time for some clear facts about the progress of the union movement, the answer might be that last year, the 7-million member

union family grew by 200,000 new members. Union organizations are active in more than 27,000 places of employment and blue-collar workers constitute 57 percent of total union membership. There are still another 8884 establishments that can but have not yet formed unions and in about 8000 establishments, less than 50 percent of employees have offered to join a union.

The upper-level union structures are represented by 134 national organizations under the OPZZ [National Confederation of Trade Unions]. There are nearly another 4000 organizations that are trying to function independent of the OPZZ.

However, the unionists themselves were not satisfied with these figures and facts because they have reached very many self-critical conclusions not only from the numbers given above but also from the practices and methods of union work. As was stated at yesterday's meeting of the OPZZ Council, this is all the more true at a time in which everything that now creates opportunities for the economy is also a chance for the unions to act.

The Thursday discussion in the Council concerned the model, structure, development and possibilities of integrating the union movement and opened a great debate on the subject of the working community. In his opening statement, OPZZ Chairman Stanislaw Bar said: "It is time to answer questions such as why the OPZZ's positions and opinions have not been fully considered by the government and why it is that the union members themselves have not made proper use of their rights".

Here is still another question: who is to decide the form taken by the union movement? Stanislaw Bar and others answered as follows: we should not rely on the little theories that establishments know from little books or from holiday visits. We should not listen to people who regard union pluralism as an alternate issue nor to those who see it as a means of gaining power.

And to "dot the i," it was stated that we are for the sort of pluralism that means one union in one establishment with one central organization on the national level. At the same time, methodical and even political programmatic pluralism is insured by the legal concept of union independence and self-management.

A large number of conclusions produced a couple of hours of lively discussion. It was pointed out that the unions have their plus marks but they also have to undergo some changes. As it was said, "this is because we too often allow ourselves to get involved in politics rather than deal with issues important to our workers."

It was twice repeated that these and other assessments and observations about union activities come from a general need to protect worker interests better than ever before. This awareness, strengthened by the events of April and May, has influenced the union assessment of

the situation and its search for new ideas. What sort of ideas? On Thursday, it was also decided that this question would be answered at the 3rd Assembly of Delegates at the union congress which will be held in Lodz at the end of November.

"We must look to the future to find the sort of solutions that will work in the next two years," concluded the chairman of the meeting, Alfred Miodowicz. "Our movement has a unique structure but is it also effective? If it is not, then we must think about what changes have to be made. One thing is for sure and that is that we cannot let pluralism reach the point at which more than one union would be active in an establishment or for more than one central exchange to exist."

The OPZZ Council accepted the Council of Work Veterans' suggestions on the issue of additional cost-of-living increase support for retired members and directed that a draft for a new retirement law be sent out for consultation in the union organizations.

Preliminary summation of the council elections shows that the voivodship people's councils had 234 members recommended by the trade unions while the primary-level councils had more than 3000.

12261

Status of National Labor Inspection Considered
26000610j Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
15 Jul 88 p 2

[Unattributed article: "Will the Trade Unions Take Charge of the PIP?"]

[Text] This coming November in Lodz will be held a conference of delegates to the congress of trade unions with the object of evaluating the implementation of the resolution of that congress halfway during the current term of office. In that resolution the congress, among other things, deemed necessary the direct subordination of National Labor Inspection (PIP) to the trade-union movement, as before 1980. Is this pertinent at present, however? This question dominated the discussion on 14 July at a session of the OPZZ [National Trade Union Alliance] Commission for Protecting Labor, Health, and Environment.

At present the status of the PIP is that of a state (not governmental) watchdog agency overseeing working conditions and it is subordinated to the Council of State and cooperates with the Supreme Chamber of Control (NIK). The trade-union movement views positively the activities of the PIP. Thus there would be no point, it was said, to changing its status chiefly out of considerations of prestige.

Such doubts prevailed in the discussion. Since, however, the resolution of the congress, the highest level of the trade-union movement, posed the matter explicitly, it was decided to transmit this issue for broad consultation to trade-union organizations.

1386

Craft Industry Possibilities Discussed
26000535f Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
22 Jun 88 p 2

[Text] "Prospects for and barriers to development of the craft industry in the economic conditions of People's Poland at the turn [end] of the 20th century" is the slogan of the all-Polish educational conference which began meetings in Rzeszow. Taking part are several dozen scholars from the whole country, including vice-president of the Sejm of the PRL Prof Jerzy Ozdowski and CK SD [Democratic Party Central Committee] vice-chairman Kazimierz Modzelewski.

13324/7310

TPPR Circles Active in Small-Scale Manufacturing, Craft Centers
26000573c Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
29 Jun 88 p 10

[Article by (LiCz): "Plenum of the TPPR Chief Board of Directors—We Want to Know More"]

[Text] In small-scale manufacturing and crafts, social organizations with economic activities, regional industrial enterprises and communal enterprises, etc., there are active some 800 circles of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society [TPPR]. There was recently a meeting of chairmen of circles which illustrated just how great and still unexploited are the possibilities for direct contacts.

The Tuesday plenum meeting of the TPPR Board of Directors under the chairmanship of Henryk Bednarski was dedicated to answering the question of what new forms should be introduced and what initiatives ought to be sponsored to activate the TPPR's cooperation with small-scale manufacturing and crafts to strengthen Polish-Soviet friendship.

At the meeting, which was also attended by representatives of the SD Central Committee, the Central Crafts Union, the Cepelia Work Cooperative, other craft chambers and shops and Valery Vinogradov, advisor to the USSR Embassy to Poland, many concrete proposals were made. For example, a greater exchange of people between the two countries could be arranged through the TPPR's "Kalinka" Tourism Bureau as well as through private channels. More contact between our two peoples was said to be the best way to get to know more about our friends' country.

12261

Call To Unionize Polonia Firms Discussed
26000535b Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
25-26 Jun 88 p 8

[Text] The development of foreign enterprises and companies with a share of foreign capital—almost 700 of them are operating in Poland at present—is accompanied by a significant growth in work places in this sector of the economy. Among those employed this gives rise to social and professional problems, which should be resolved by trade organizations. In foreign enterprises, unions arose spontaneously and are functioning in firms such as "Sport-Hofer" in Katowice, "Markit" in Torun, "Rega" in Gdansk, and "Intercarp" in Slupsk; however, their number is definitely too small.

Opportunities for development of a trade movement in "Polonia" firms, socio-trade problems, and legal-financial regulations were discussed at a joint meeting on 24 June of the OPZZ [Trade Unions] Executive Committee secretariat headed by Alfred Miodowicz and the management of the Polish-Polonia Chamber of Industry and Trade "Inter-Polcom" with the president of the board, Tadeusz Kaminski.

During the meeting the opinion was expressed that foreign enterprises should have operating conditions with rights equal to those of other economic subjects, and to gain their preferences by undertaking activity not performed by units of the socialized economy.

It was agreed that the trade movement will support the directions in the activity of "Inter-Polcom," which will contribute directly to improvement of the efficiency of the economy.

A working group which will punctually solve problems of interest to both sides was formed to continue further collaboration. Action also was taken aimed toward regenerating a founding committee for trade unions in "Polonia" firms, which ceased operation for various reasons 4 years ago.

13324/7310

Polish-Russian Cooperative Steelworks Magazine
26000610g Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
18 Jul 88 p 2

[Untitled news item]

[Text] The first bilingual Polish-Russian joint issue of the periodicals GLOS NOWEJ HUTY and MAGNITOGORSKIY RABOCHIY appeared in Krakow. Such joint issues will be published once a month and provide information on the life of the workforces of the two large Polish and Soviet steelworks, Magnitogorsk in the Urals and Lenin Steelworks in Krakow.

1386

PRAVDA Correspondent on Perestroika in Szczecin
26000535d Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
21 Jun 88 p 2

[Text] In Poland at the invitation of our editorial office, PRAVDA international commentator Vitalii Korionov became acquainted with new concepts for development of the Szczecin-Swinoujscie Port Authority, and also the gmina [township] of Stare Czernowo. In the course of many cordial discussions he shared his thoughts on the dynamic changes occurring in the USSR and on preparations for the 19th CPSU Party Congress.

13324/7310

'Polonia' Secretary on Difficulties for Returning Emigres, Other Issues
26000575a Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
1 Jul 88 p 9

[Interview with Jozef Klasa, secretary general of the "Polonia" Association for Communication With Poles Abroad, by Lech Kantoch: "To Match the Interests of Poland and Emigration"]

[Text] [Question] What do you think is the role of "Polonia" in contacts between Poles at home and abroad?

[Answer] The association should match their interests which means to present the universal and timeless values of the nation and state and of Poles abroad but also to function as a domestic advocate for foreign Poles. This is no easy task because there have been periods in the past when it was not always possible to defend the rights of emigres and when we turned our backs entirely on our emigrants.

[Question] That is true but that was 40 years ago. Since then many things have changed. Do you think the changes have been too few?

[Answer] This situation was created during the postwar years and the Stalinist era as well as the Cold War. This was a time of distrust that still taints our relations today. At first, Poles were asked to return home. Later, the government passed its 1946 resolution to deprive 76 generals and higher officers of their citizenship and there were bad relations with Polish soldiers who had remained in the West that sometimes extended to all other postwar emigrants.

These are political issues that have over the years undergone a second stage of evolution. However, aside from that, we still have an entire set of legal issues to resolve. Many of the regulations on relations with Poles abroad are still helplessly stuck in the Stalinist period. In this I see the enormous role of the Polonia Association in convincing the public that such laws cannot bring Poles back to Poland.

[Question] To look past the flowers with which we greet them, do returning Poles find many problems?

[Answer] Certainly. A Pole who wishes to return to his country does not find a red carpet rolled out for him. The paradox in this is that it is now much easier to leave the country than it is to return. We cannot let things get to the point where emigration becomes like an army sent off to battle and never to return as described years ago by L. Care, who had studied patterns of Polish emigration. Every Pole, regardless of where he lived or the type of passport he carried should have the right to return to Poland, invest his money in our economy, start up his own business or buy a home or apartment.

There are indeed many obstacles to the fulfillment of those rights. Some of these obstacles were lifted by last year's liberalization of passport and visa regulations but the good done by introducing the right to freely cross Poland's borders was diminished by the obligation to get an exit visa from the local police.

[Question] There is an enormous number of problems. Can the Association deal with them by itself?

[Answer] Certainly not and we have no such ambitions. The model for contacts between Poland and her emigres should be changed. The Polonia Association must become a greater initiator and advisor to the public, foster the creation of a network between people and associations for professionals such as architects, doctors and scientists or between artistic associations. There must be greater universality of contacts including those with people who sometimes fail to consider our political realia but have enough good will to keep in touch with Poland and Polish society.

[Question] Therefore, the sort of political and philosophical pluralism that is becoming more evident in Poland should also have its place in our contacts with Poles abroad. Therefore, should the one basis for this be Polish culture, tradition and language?

[Answer] If we are aware that we want contacts that are mutually beneficial and with people living in a completely different system and who have completely different ideals, then together we must find the things that unite rather than separate us and those things in which ideology and politics have less weight. Such a matter is Poland itself, our shared history, tradition, language and culture.

[Question] Economic cooperation is another such area...

[Answer] Yes it is but only under the condition that we make it possible to encourage foreign Polish capital to invest in our country. We are discussing a government bill on economic activity with foreign participation and in spite of certain reservations, we see in it a chance for new and much more beneficial forms of economic cooperation.

[Question] What directions do you think are especially important in the near and distant future?

[Answer] As a country, we need friends and allies. We must find them at home and abroad. We must also remember that in a country in which 5-6 million of its citizens have relatives in other countries, every government decision that either helps or hinders contact with relatives is closely watched by our society. In other countries, we should above all turn to those who have natural ties to Poland, its culture and their places of birth.

I am thinking about emigration and the first generation of emigrants, regardless of when and how they left Poland. I am thinking of everyone who is "Polish by birth". I am thinking about those who emigrated to West Germany and about Jews in Poland. In the past, we made the mistake of running them out and then making it hard for them to maintain contact with Poland and Polish culture.

[Question] And Poles in the USSR?

[Answer] That is an issue very close to our hearts and I am convinced that we have made progress and have done as much as possible to meet the cultural needs of ethnic Poles living in the Soviet Union. We must also realize that there are ethnic Poles living in all of the European socialist countries. I believe that the rebuilding of relations between our countries is also reflected in the contacts that Poles [living abroad] have with Poland.

[Question] The Polonia Palace in Pultusk and the Polonia Foundation are in the process of being established. What do you think is their role in all of the other actions being taken on behalf of Poles abroad?

[Answer] The two enterprises you mentioned as well as our association's assumption of economic activity through its own publishing house, tourist agency and participation in several companies and foundations are what I regard as timely forms of realizing the goals we discussed. I want to emphasize the importance of the Polonia Foundation. Over the nearly 40 years that the Association has existed, it has always worked on behalf of Poles abroad without having necessarily asked them for their opinions. Poles abroad have also spoken for Poland. For the first time, we have an institution whose program, search for resources and whose realization of its goals has united the will and means of Poles at home and abroad and this means that we can now act in concert.

Students Discuss Self-Government Issues

26000610d Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
2-3 Jul 88 p 2

[News item: "Student Self-Government"]

[Text] Minister of National Education Professor Henryk Bednarski met with a group of students, activists from student self-governments and youth organizations at the Gdansk Polytechnic. The meeting was attended by representatives of students from other higher schools on the Coast.

The subject of the discussion was problems of self-government at higher schools, broadening the powers of student self-government, and creating an atmosphere of partnership among students and faculty at higher schools.

1386

Increase in Cultural Pursuits Noted

26000610h Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
18 Jul 88 p 2

[Untitled news item]

[Text] According to the Main Statistical Administration (GUS) Poles are increasingly unwilling to go out to the cinema, theater, or museums. A tendency termed "domocentrism" is growing: we spend 80 percent of the leisure time we allot for culture on listening to the radio, watching television, listening to music records, or watching film videotapes. We spend 12 percent of that time on book reading and barely 8 percent on traditional participation in culture (museums, theater, etc.).

1386

Society's Ecological Role Studied

26000535h Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
22 Jun 88 p 2

[Text] Generalization of natural science and ecological education has an enormous impact on the creation of social pressure on these problems and on public enforcement of compliance with laws upholding environmental protection. "At the present time the state of education in this area is not sufficient," stated Dr Danuta Cichy at a seminar on the role of the social movement in support of environmental protection, which convened in the Ministry of Environmental and Natural-Resource Protection. Ecological elements are scattered throughout several subjects in elementary and secondary instruction, but without integration of these the knowledge of youth on environmental protection is not sufficiently grounded. Thus, public organizations as well as mass-media resources have an important role to fulfill in the education and proecological upbringing of youth.

13324/7310

Katowice Health Reports Suppressed, Severe Pollution Continues

26000575d Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish
1 Jul 88 p 3

[Article by Wanda Wolska of DZIENNIK ZACHODNI, 22 June: "Katowice SOS"]

[Text] A report on the work of 39 teams (coordinated by Professor Gerard Jonderko) studying the health conditions of Katowice residents and presented to a small group of experts gave clear evidence that this voivodship has seen a steady degradation of the natural environment and of public health. For at least 10 years, the number of prenatal abnormalities has increased and this has led to a rise in premature births and stillbirths. Infant death rates are highest here along with the rate of diseases of the circulatory system, skin, respiratory and nervous systems.

Both the report by Professor Jonderko and the work of the team under Docent Dziembala have obviously been left to gather dust in someone's desk drawer because nothing said in these reports was reflected in any recent Sejm decisions. On the contrary, the government's extraordinary powers have produced a rather forlorn specter but one which is nonetheless clothed in the toga of reform and that is the privileges given export and consumer production. It is true that we are in dire need of foreign currency and a balanced economy but this has allowed industrial enterprises to get out of having to make investments in environmental protection.

Meanwhile, the lion's share of the burden for the delay in reduction of toxic emissions is borne by us, the residents of the most poisoned corner of Poland.

12261

Despite Passport Procedure Simplifications Problems Still Exist

26000602 Warsaw PRAWO I ZYCIE in Polish No 33,
13 Aug 88 pp 4-5

[Article by Ryszard Czerniawski: "The Border Troops Aren't Honoring the Decision"]

[Text] On Monday, the day of the week on which the Passport Office of the Ministry of Internal Affairs on Koszykowa Street accepts appeals and complaints, the office is practically empty. In two small rooms about a dozen applicants are awaiting their turn. As late as 2 or 3 years ago these waiting rooms held an average of 200 persons daily and the officials receiving them had problems remembering their names, because almost everyone had been asking the same question, "Why didn't I receive a passport?"

Following the changes in passport policy, particularly those made a year ago (prolonging the validity of passports for those who remain abroad, a more tolerant

attitude toward persons with dual citizenship, consent to family reunions), refusals to issue passports, which for years used to be one of the most sensitive issues, ceased to be the principal problem. This does not mean, of course, that the problem has disappeared. Refusals still happen, although to a much smaller extent (e.g., last year 2.4 percent of the 3.7 million passport decisions were negative compared with 4.6 percent in 1986 and 6.1 percent in 1985). Each such refusal elicits emotion and chagrin, but nowadays the principal complaints are about the procedure itself for applying for a passport, about having to stand in different queues for the passport application and for the passport itself. This is confirmed by the observations of the PRAWO I ZYCIE reporters Ewa Wielinska and Andrzej Studzinski, who visited passport offices in Torun and Gdansk.

For to the public, the passport is no longer a kind of distinction conferred by the state, an expression of confidence in the moral-political attitude of the citizen. It has become what it normally is: a travel document authorizing the crossing of the state frontier. But this has not yet been reflected in the operation of the entire bureaucratic machinery associated with the issuance of passports. Every person desiring a passport and subsequently returning it has to deal with a peculiar mixture of inconsistency, good intentions, and old habits.

All this should be, of course, brought into order by law, and yet the provisions of the same Decree of 1959 made it possible for several hundred thousand persons annually to travel abroad in the 1960s and for as many as 11 million in the 1970s. This also applies to the current decade (for the revisions of the Decree in 1983 were minor). In 1983 1.7 million Poles traveled abroad and last year 5.2 million. The Decree created only the foundations for the decisions to issue passports and as to the decision who can travel abroad and who cannot, that was actually governed by the principles of the so-called passport policy, published in the newspapers but not in *DZIENNIK USTAW* or *MONITOR POLSKI* [legislative records]. In effect, while the passport law consists of a tiny corpus of several legal acts, the implementing regulations are so voluminous that their corpus equals in thickness a book or at least a brochure. It appears advisable to revise that policy itself as well as the Passport Decree, which was voted in other times and under other circumstances. Too many unnecessary complications and hindrances are being retained.

Consider, for example, such a basic issue as the passport. I tried to prepare a list of the passports issued by our authorities. I am not certain whether it is complete. If it is not, please let me know.

Here is the list: 1) the diplomatic passport; 2) the official passport of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (after all, not all employees of that Ministry have diplomatic status); 3) the standard official passport; 4) the tourist passport with the letter "s" (used by, e.g., artists assigned by "Pagart" Booking Agency); 5) the tourist passport valid

for the European socialist countries; 6) the tourist passport valid for the entire world; 7) the group passport; 8) the tourist passport with the clause of convertibility to consular passport; 9) the consular booklet-type passport (for Polish citizens permanently residing abroad); 10) the blanket consular passport received by, e.g., Polish citizens reporting the loss of their passports abroad. There also may exist subclasses of some of these classes. For example, the standard official passport may be valid for the European socialist countries, for all the countries of Europe, or for the entire world. Is it surprising that Spanish border officials reportedly demanded of the owners of official passports that they show normal, ordinary passports? For the sake of clarity let me add that the passport is not the sole document on the basis of which a Polish citizen may cross the frontier, but I do not want to confuse my readers still more with an explanation.

Must so many kinds of passports exist indeed? Are not some of them being doled out too parsimoniously? Does a totally drunken worker returning from a pipeline project or the GDR have to show an official passport? Why do many of us have to have several passports each? (A Sejm deputy who happens to be a law professor once described to a Sejm committee the nature of his passports: an official passport from the Chancellery of the Sejm (which he used when traveling as a member of a delegation of Polish parliamentarians), another official passport from his university (he also travels in his capacity as an academic), and still another official passport, this time from the Polish Academy of Sciences. In addition, he has a tourist passport valid for East Europe (kept at home) as well as a tourist passport valid for the entire world (deposited with the voivodship internal affairs office). Altogether, he has five passports. But why so many?

Would not just two kinds of passports, the diplomatic and the regular, suffice? After all, a passport does not have to be the counterpart of a service I.D., and, e.g., a consular passport could be replaced with a mere stamped notation in a regular passport. Besides, I do not see the necessity of maintaining passports that are valid for different geographical areas. Since the authorities trust me to the extent that they permit me to travel to, say, the FRG or Albania, why cannot I use the same passport to travel to a friendly country like, say, Vietnam or the equally friendly Cuba? Could not these and other passport demarcations be simplified (some authorize only two trips outside Poland while others authorize many; some are valid for 10 years, and others for shorter periods of time; some may be kept at home, others not).

When asked about this, the responsible officials at passport offices answer with one word: computerization. This means that only after 1990, when the computerization of passport services is completed, the unification of passports for all of us can be considered. As early as this year all the borough and central passport offices in Warsaw are to be computerized, along with the passport

section of the voivodship internal affairs office in Krakow. But if the system is to operate, all of its parts, including scanners to be provided to the WOP [Border Defense Troops], have to be connected to it. Our foreign trips, both coming and going (especially for trips to and from Payments Area 2 ["capitalist countries"]), will then no longer be monitored by passport offices, as is the case now by our being required to pick up and surrender our passports there, but at the border, because then everyone will be able to keep his passport at home.

The question is, are we condemned to stand in queues in order to fill out all sorts of questionnaires every time we travel abroad, and thus to waste our time and chafe, until that vaguely defined year (because computerization is one thing and standardization of passports is another, as is changing the passport requirements)? Of course, in certain cases, such as getting a passport valid only for East Europe, less time is needed, but only in certain cases. As for longterm planning, especially planning such a major project as a trip abroad, in our conditions this is a risky undertaking. It is enough for, say, the foreign-exchange regulations to be changed the day after in order to nullify all our travel plans.

But the question is, are all the formalities required really absolutely necessary and indispensable for the passport application to be approved? The lengthy passport questionnaire has not, insofar as I can recall, been revised for at least 20 years. Must the passport office know not only the jobs held by my parents, children, and relatives, but also the workplace of my wife and my political affiliation? Does knowledge of these facts influence the decision to grant or refuse a passport? Must I fill out a special application (with several rubrics, of course) to be get back my own passport which I had to deposit [with the Security Service]? Is it necessary that, after returning from one country and before traveling to another I have to fill out the so-called short questionnaire and submit it together with my passport in order to receive that same passport back after a while? If the purpose is to monitor trips abroad, why do I have in this case also to fill out the so-called border-crossing card, whose legality is besides extremely dubious?

It appears that the time has come for relaxing these trivial and paper-wasting controls on passport movement without waiting for the computerization. After all, it is not only people but also bureaucratic procedures that are causing those tapeworm-like queues, "priority lists," and the need to establish "quick-response teams"

precisely at passport offices. What is paradoxical about it all is that at present it is much easier to have one's passport application approved than to receive the passport itself.

But the decisions are not being honored by the WOP.

1386

Wisla-Odra Society Extends Educational Role
26000610k Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
14 Jul 88 p 2

[News item: "Out of Concern for Civic Education"]

[Text] The Vistula-Odra Society has broadened its cooperation with the ministry of education. An agreement on this matter was concluded on 13 July in Warsaw with Minister of National Education Henryk Bednarski. On behalf of the Society it was signed by its Chairman Edmund Meclewski.

The purpose of the agreement is to emphasize civic education in the educational process, particularly such topics as the struggle of the Polish population to retain its national awareness and Polish culture on the territories of the former German state, the evolution of Polish political thought on the return of the Western and Northern territories to the Motherland, and the management and integration of the recovered territories with the heartland.

1386

ZLP Hosts Soviet Writers, Journalists on Polish Affairs
26000573d Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
1 Jul 88 p 2

[Text] Poland is being visited by a group of Soviet writers and journalists who are gathering material about our country. On 30 June, they were guests of the party organization of the Warsaw chapter of the Polish Writer's Association. "At the present time, contacts between writers in Poland and the USSR," Leonid Pochivalov, a writer and journalist for LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, told our PAP correspondent, "are not only drawing literary artists of our two countries closer together but are also enlivening our cultural life. Thanks to the cooperation between the writer's unions and the changes in our countries, the shelves of Soviet bookstores are beginning to be filled with translations of previously unknown Polish writers like Gombrowicz and Schulz while Polish readers are now able to read titles like Pasternak's "Doctor Zhivago" and Rybakov's "Children of the Arbat."

12261

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